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Title: neoliberal world

About the Author: I am a first year master student in EALC. I am interested in the construction of woman's subjectivity with reference to Korea's social mobility. I studied literature for a long time before, so I'm trying to compound the external approach to a changing society as a whole with the internal approach to a person's internal world according to that. In this project of Korean/American woman's fashion at UIUC, I explored the implication of Korean woman's fashion in the US campus, and how fashion functions as 'the nexus of the flexible identities' in the context of global, transnational circumstance. And tried to connect it to the neoliberal economic, market order.

Keywords: Korean woman's fashion. self development, social capital, neoliberalism, cultural commodity, identity.

Abstract: The starting point of this project is the observation of difference of Korean female students' fashion at UIUC. From that point, we dug further into the meaning of fashion in relation to one's identity acrossing two countries and placed it within the broader context of global economy. Since more and more Korean students are forced to study abroad as self-development in competitive globalized society, the fashion also functions as a cultural capital to develop along with their educational capital. By comparing Korean trend with the American fashion, I found the common characteristics lied in these two styles. Korean women seem to be more fashionable than other ethnic groups. Unlike the Korean fashion trend that is more formal, the American style is more casual. But this does not mean that American students are less concerned with their looks nor they're free from social distinction via clothing. By adjusting their fashion to the locale, Korean students accept the racialized and commodified American concept and participate this social practice as a subject. Fashion is related to the personal choice of a certain consumption to express oneself. But it's not personal. It reflects all kinds of social category and distinction such as class, ethnicity, race and gender. fashion consumption at this global era is connected to a global mega corporations marketing strategy disseminated through mass media : TV drama, advertisements performed by famous entertainer, and INternet. In the current American cultural hegemony, nobody is free from the influence of american cultural commodities. Regardless of the physical, geographical difference of fashion in Korea and the US, and the tiring job of Korean women's self-development in their fashion also, they both reflect the neoliberal characteristics of cultural consumption.

Response Paper While reading these three articles, a news from Korea came up to my mind first. It is about the possible privatization of Health Care which is run by a governmental insurance company in the present, with the election of new president Yi, Myung-bak. His campaign pledges included the privatization of several public enterprises along with downsizing government in Korea. Health Care policy is the hottest issues among them. The key terms of Neoliberalism, privatization and personal responsibility, are echoed here. I saw a netizen in Korea is worried about the possibility of disaster's coming. In fact, since 1998, the period of getting loan from International Monetary Fund, the neoliberal economic order permeated deeply into the daily lives of people in Korea. Any countries in the world cannot avoid this neoliberal umbrella today. As these three articles demonstrate well, Neoliberalism organizes political, cultural life in a society as well as its material life. Duggan explains the origin of neoliberalism going back to the nineteenth century in the US. She states that this is the reincarnation of Anglo-European liberalism which was adapted as the conditions of the new nation state at that time. Among the central accommodations, there were slavery, the political equality of only white men and the protection of private property rights of them. From the first, it started from the racial, gender inequality. Through the New Deal era and civil rights movements, the State extended its role, but since the Reagan governments, this neoliberalism was prevalent again. Liberals and conservatives have something in common in 'advocating more privacy in the economy and civil society, but less privacy in the family and in intimate and sexual life'.(p.8). The new liberal centrism of the 1990s converged on vindicating 'a leaner, meaner government, a state-supported but privatized economy, a socially responsible civil society, and a moralized family.' (p.10) Neoliberalism represents the value of the pro-corporate, free market, anti-big government. This has shaped the western national policy and dominated international financial institutions since 1980s. As mentioned above, this neoliberalism has a cultural politics also. According to the authors, the "culture wars" has been conducted in the past 20 years within the field of education, race, and sexuality as well as class and nationality. The episode of Women's Studies Program conference in November 1997 at SUNY at New Paltz showed that how this neoliberal economy policy could dominate the educational institution- its curriculum, emphasis on diversity, and academic freedom by the threat of shrinking fund. According to Duggan, the value of "multiculturalism" and "permissiveness" along with "democracy" are being downsized with this neoliberalism. The reality in the secondary school classroom is taken up in the Phoenix article. She showed us the youth's dilemma between the demands of masculine community and the

demands of school work required to survive in the neoliberal world. Boys cannot fill the prescriptions of neoliberal discourses because the high priority of academic achievement is considered effeminate by other boys and teachers. (233) This gender issue is associated with race and class matter. Black boys are more subject to this peer pressure comparing with those of other race. This leads to the bad cycle of disqualification, poverty and high crime rate in the neoliberal society. Unlike the hopeful expectations of Duggan, that is, the disillusionments and exposure of corrupt financial practices and corporate greed in neoliberal order will produce opportunities for progressive-left politics (2) and change, the reality does not seem optimistic and simple. The culture wars are still going on in our classroom.

Response Paper

#2:

The New Generation The Neoliberal economy swings its power around the world. This week we are seeing how are the cases in India and the US. As Boo points out, more and more multinational companies are outsourcing in the Third World looking for “better and cheap” labor force. India is very attractive place for these competitive businesses, since it has cheap, smart and educated laborers who are willingly to conform to this new economic order and the new western companies for their surviving and the generous governmental ‘tax-holiday’ support. Historically, India has been a physically mystique place to the west [the Britain] in the colonial era. It provided the precious raw materials, and was the locus of beauty and mystique to them(p.2). Again it lures the superpowers with its cheap, smart, pliable labor (2). Outsourcing in services such as biotech research, pharmaceuticals, architecture as well as the manufacturing goods would be increasing continuously. On the one hand, the US Department of Labor is worried about the number of American jobs lost to outsourcing. On the other hand, however, many economists believe that this global transition is unavoidable and becomes mutually beneficial--that an economy is better off specializing in areas where is relatively more productive and importing in areas where it is not--. (4) It is exactly what the CEO of Office Tiger, Joe, thinks about the global economy. He said, “in the real world, it is inexorable. Businesses will have to outsource to stay competitive, and eventually the American public will get used to it.”(5) With this global restructuring, the native Hindu culture which emphasizes to be gentle, forgiving of shortcomings along with its emphasis on the caste system gives way to the Wall Street Ethos, the law of the jungle. The native people accept the term ‘competition’, ‘change’, and ‘exposure’ as good meaning words without hesitation. In spite of the economic development of Chennai due to the coming of western outsourcing businesses, the lives of citizens there are not

being improved much. They are still suffered from the lack of basic infrastructure such as water, health care, housing as well as appropriate education. It might have been from the decay of governmental officials. Environmental destruction and labor exploitation including children's' has been accompanied also. Boo argues that we should see the other side of American meritocracy which says" if you work hard for something, most of the time you will get it." Brooks states that college students in these days are more achievement-oriented, more acceptable of established order. They don't dispute, no challenge and respect authority more comparing with other generations in the past. He finds the reason of this phenomenon from the way of their being raised by their Baby Boomers parents, and the social stability when they grew up. According to him, they are the most supervised generation in human history. With the help of science, the child rearing in the 21st century, became the interplay of genetics and environment. Parents who want the best and the most for their children, construct proper environments and experiences if they are going to get the most out of their child's genetic stock. (p.8) The neoliberal order in family life takes the shape of this, 'more discipline, less freedom'. Here again the philosophy of "mediocrity" appears representing the rejection of 'natural education', student-centered diversity, and spontaneity. Discipline beat the creativity and conformity get over nonconformity. This preference is more apparent in the upper-middle class society, whose primary ethos is achievement. They believe that if children are going to reach their full potential, they need to be placed in stimulating and productive environment. (15)So, they control over their kids play, behavior, and education. As a result, the children become clean, gay, group-centered, and achievement-oriented youth. But they have no desire to break free from something that formed a typical youth mentality in the past. They are not nonconformists, creative individualists, rebels, nor adventurers any more. They seem to share a common feature with the elites in the past, however, they are different in that while the elites in the past emphasize to cultivate 'character', 'virtuous life', these new ones emphasize achievement only. I have seen this new type of college students in Korea also for more than a decade. They are different. They are goal-oriented, practical, and hard-working. The cause which the past young generation was concentrated in such as freedom, democracy of society are not their business. As we have seen it through the articles, neoliberal influence takes the different forms around the world. It could be the labor exploitation in some Asian countries, accommodating Americanization as their survival policy in other areas or achievement-centered young generation in the US. Among these different forms, I can see the common feature:

dehumanization. Powerless individual cannot survive. How could this dehumanization be overcome?

Response Paper #3: Aihwa Ong, Neoliberalism as exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty; Ann Anagnost, "Imagining Global Futures in China : The Child as A Sign of Value" ; Joe Austin, "Youth, Neoliberalism, Ethics: Some Questions" The articles for this week seem to be an extension of last week's (especially the organization kids). It's about how neoliberalism influences on youth's life around the world. Aihwa Ong relates this with the reality of higher learning in the US, Ann Anagnost with the Chinese organization kids in the new generation, and Joe Austin with the governmentality and the ethics of risk society. They shared a common feature that neoliberalism does not reside only in economic sphere, but it affects the higher and early education for youths and kids, and reproduced as cultural capital through global circuit. Youth act as victims and active agents in a governed , consumption-exhortation society. Among these, Aihwa Ong indicates the behind face of diversity-respected American Higher institutes. Traditionally the US universities, with the goal of serving the civic community, generates the middle-class citizenry aligned to basic values such as self-reliance, income-earning, equal opportunity, and political representation excluding minorities. There has been an urge to accommodate cultural citizenship as "the right to be different". However, the goal of exposing American students to multicultural sophistication has more become to prepare American professionals who are expected to be operating in globalized sites. (Ong, p. 147). The increasingly global availability of American education put into circulation both the traditional American value like democracy and neoliberal ethos. In another word, promoting global expertise and neoliberal values in the world has been important goal of American university. Learning in the US universities has more functioned as the acquisition of cultural capital. Ong points out that this created an international class of calculative actors, not world citizens. The importance of this acquisition of cultural capital from the very moment of one's being a fetus has been emphasized in the fiercely developing China recently. The movement from a socialist planned economy to a market economy has generated many social instabilities like massive layoffs, privatized health care, housing, pension system. In this instable period, educated, urban parents invest in their only child's education for their competitive survival comparing with others. This unavoidably meets the changing demands of the market. (Anagnost, p. 5) Family becomes "the place of penetration of a new organization of governmentality". (Anagnost, p.8) In this context, childhood becomes highly commodified and the child

becomes just human capital. In China, this private investment goes together with state policy which intends to improve the bodily and mental quality of the population. Anagnost defines this over-regimented child is in crisis with the lack of human quality such as being independent, self-confident, and the gut to confront to new situations. She does not let the chance slip to pinch the feeling of insecurity in the response of American educators when they saw the scene of Chinese education and decried its overregimentation. In Joe Austin's article, we can see how youth agency is produced, promoted and shaped in the highly consuming (in his/her(?) word, risk) society. The manipulated or governed freedom in choosing commodities has been mentioned by many Marxist thinkers before. But the agency of youth is rather new. And she points out the special difficulty of young people who live in the era of deprived welfare policy by state. The neoliberal(risk) society that has the collapse of public education, the increasing number of minors in adult prisons, and the limitation of governmental assistance to young people entering the job market needs the ethics of human rights, she cites. Among this youth problem, for me, the Chinese over-regimented organization kid, and the Chinese studying abroad (specially US) to acquire cultural capital and being a global business professionals who are the active actors of neoliberal economy order, seems very familiar. As a Korean, this is not the matter of foreign country. Koreans have the same issue. A bigger problem is that it's not a matter of an area, I think. Through the three weeks of critical reading, this might be too simple question, I, as a governed agent, have been continuously wondering what could be the alternative to this dehumanized, risk society besides analyzing the reality and critical thinking? Hope to find a clue in next week's reading.

Response Paper Since communist revolution, the concept of woman's liberation in
#4: China has been changed according to the relation shift of power, knowledge and cultural action. Right after the communist revolution it was about challenging against the feudal notion of femininity, that is, equalization as a social work force for the better future. It was mainly conducted by communist government as their strategy of implanting new Chinese modernity. With the time going on, through Cultural Revolution, woman's subjection to the state took another shape. In place of feudal family, Chinese women seem to become subordinated by communist state. And today, they seem to try to go back to the more traditional role of femininity. Through the research of women in several cohorts, Lisa Rofel tries to elucidate how Chinese woman's notion of agency in their liberation has been culturally construed according to times. For a long time, the changed Chinese woman's status since communist revolution was

called the 'great victory of woman's lib' even among the western feminists. The notorious feudal status of woman in China, represented as 'foot binding' and 'abortion of female fetus', which forced them to have had to be dependent on their male family members for their living, and its bad cycle of resulting inferior position throughout centuries were dramatically changed. With the communist revolution, let alone men, all women had to participate in the social labor to construct their new social order. Through Cultural Revolution, the people who belonged to former bourgeois class had to move their location to the countryside or to the factories for rooting out their old privileged class consciousness and remodeling it as proletariat's. During this era, the role of women as social activist was still huge. However, since post-Mao period, the traditional femininity emphasizing on motherhood and wifeness reappeared. As Lisa Rofel states repeatedly, the issue of women's liberation provided one of the most critical terrains on which China endeavored to construct its modernity. She interviewed several women working in a factory in Hangzhou who were going through these special periods themselves, asked how they see this social transition in relation to their personal experience as a daughter, a wife and a factory worker as well as an active agent of model of new woman. She found the differences of perspective according to their specific cohorts and their personal family background. The first generation women who were going through revolution and nationalization by communist government as a low class girl accepted their transition experience proudly as a part of liberation that broke down the traditional feudalism, which also had gendered spatial dichotomy of inside and outside. It was an old obstacle in family and workplace. Through this gender transgression on labor and at home, they became to think that they contributed to the development of China's modernity as a liberated woman. It surely is different depending on their original class. For example, the response of a woman capitalist was quite different from that of originally poor class women. For her, it was not a unified project of liberation for women. Geared to her marriage, it was a process of painful deprivation of private property and that of her being a real professional worker for achieving her filial duty at the same time. For younger generations, marriage functions rather a means to go back to the 'inside' at home again, a complementary of their 'lost time' that was required to them during the near past. They are opposite of their predecessors. Again this is mingled with state's new policy to set 'motherhood' and 'wifeness' as their policy of new modernity. As China has been belong to the global economy, the commodification of youth sensitivity and the immoralization in a sense is getting more found. And the women's role of state policy's agents has been changed continuously. As we

can see in the cases of Chinese women in several cohorts, personal agency in politics is socially construed. State of modern China played a lot, and it's mingled with their personal history. It's not fixed, but generated by a lot of factors continuously. As Judith Butler states, it was configured through personal action and practice into institution everyday. When I was younger, I thought that the liberation of Chinese women from their feudal system and Confucian ideology by the state was admirable. But Lisa Rofel points out in this book, liberation is not a static, completed process. And it's different according to perspectives. As the social milieu changes, a new subjection process comes up, and the solution for the new problem should be newly contemplated. And there's no one answer from one point of view. Today Chinese women's emancipation seems not from feudality but from the commodification of capitalized sensibility and infinite competition in the neoliberal world.

**Response Paper
#5:**

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#7:**

Preliminary Question: Korean visiting scholars hold one of the big groups among Korean communities at UIUC. Some of them are professors in Korea who graduated from this school and come here to spend their sabbatical year, and the others are new comers here. A majority of them want to take advantage of this period as an investment for their children's better education, that is, English intensified education. As already known, one's English speaking proficiency has been functioned as a measuring standard for one's possessing appropriate tools of gaining social privilege in recent Korea. With its extremely competitive educational milieu, Korea has been well known for producing many early students abroad, and the number of them has been getting more and more increased gradually. Recently according to a newspaper survey, it turns out that this English ability has even become a sign of class distinction in Korea. For the upper and [upper] middle class, sending their children to North America for at least a year at their earlier age has become a 'habitus' beyond a mere fashion. In this context, I would like to conduct a project concerning Korean short-term (1-3 yrs) visitors at UIUC such as visiting professors, researchers or post doctors whose children were accompanied with the hope of gaining English intensified education along with their own research: how they provide kids with private tutoring after school in addition to

regular curriculum, let kids participate in diverse after school activities such as sports, band, classic musical instruments, arts and even math and science competition program in preparation for their going back to Korea. Through these a lot of tutoring and activities as well as regular curriculums in English speaking country, the kids could be a good candidate for global expertise. This is all about the matter of raising children as a proper cultural capital in the neoliberal world, I think. After one year, some of them decide to go back, and some decide to stay longer. Their period of stay time varies depending on their families goal. Mainly mother and their children will remain after their father's going back to Korea. How much does this intensive education contribute to their strategy to survive in the highly competitive Korea and quick-paced globalizing world? Will these kids be global expertise who meet "the changing demands of the market" (Anagnost) as their parents expect? Would it be successful to compete with this asset in this neoliberal global society? What are their gains and losses from this experience? With these questions, I would like to dig into the influence of the neoliberalism on the Korean middle class families.

Interview/Observ. Our group questions are about why students in EALC at UIUC
#1: choose East Asian languages and cultures instead of other ones, and what is the significance of it in relation to the neo-liberal global order, and how is it racialized.

Par) I interviewed a Korean master student in EALC, majoring in Chinese history. Jay is a master student majoring in Modern Chinese intellectual history. She came to UIUC after she finished another master degree in Seoul. As an answer to my question of why studying here, she said, she wanted to experience more advanced academic research in the US. According to her, the academic research level of Chinese history in the US is considered the most advanced in the world (except the ancient period). Moreover a Ph D degree in the US is still rare and considered

valuable in this field, recently there's a tendency that most students doing research in this field are likely to get an American degree. Before recent, most students studied in China, Taiwan and Japan instead of the US. As English-speaking scholars are getting preferred more and more in the field of East Asian philosophy and history, she expects bigger advantage from her degree here. Now, she has a plan to go to the doctoral course for her career in this fall..

par) Apparently, she had some significant difficulties in doing her job as a Korean student who is doing Chinese studies in the US. "It's doubled", she said. In the first year, she felt miserable in speaking English and Chinese. Aside from English language problem, there are a lot of Chinese students who speak Chinese and English fluently she found. And there are a lot of established scholars from China already in the US academia. In spite of this, she was gradually getting accustomed and her language ability also has been getting improved. Now she feels confident her reading and listening in Chinese and thinks her decision to come to the US has been quite good. "This is valuable experience and asset, faculties here train students a lot. The academic level at UIUC is much higher than my past research in Korea. If I had stayed in Korea continuously, I couldn't have gone through this",

she said.

Par) According to her, there's an agreement in the academic field of East Asian intellectual history that they need to widen their territory. That is, if a Chinese major scholar encompasses Korean and Japanese history also, s/he is considered to be more competitive. So she has a plan to study Korean history and Chinese Literature in the near future. "Given this tendency, without proper language skills, one cannot read the first sources such as the classical Chinese books written in ancient Chinese characters, but also the second materials as well." She added. For her, not only fluent English but also fluent Chinese language abilities required. "I need to read Chinese Texts and upload papers in Chinese periodicals as well as American and other western ones. In a word, multi-functional scholars are needed." "As in other areas, only the fittest survives here," she added.

par) On the other hand, as a student from the same cultural background - Koreans use Chinese words in their vocabularies, she has enjoyed a kind of benefits comparing with American students studying Chinese.

" I like the language environment in EALC. One of my Chinese history professors speak Japanese well .We use four languages

here – Korean, English, Chinese, and Japanese. This is another advantage that I can never experience in Korea. Practicing multi-language skills is a good capital”. Her future plan is getting a job in the US first after she finishes her PH D. After that, she is considering to go back to Korea if she gets a good job opportunity because of her parents and other things. “ Just staying here is not my primary goal. Studying here is a definitely better chance, but living after is different.” She concluded.

For her ambitious goal, she is reading current Chinese newspaper and practicing English today.

Group Research Question: Crossing identities : seeing through the fashion of Korean women in the US (PAR) Fashion is a powerful means of expressing oneself. It involves with a complicated “habitus” for us to participate in a certain kinds of consumption. And it is a typical cultural capital that “needs inculcation, assimilation and personal investment”. (Bourdieu, Distinction) It also serves “as a social function that justifies social difference.” (Bourdieu, Distinction) (PAR) According to another anthropological point of view, “consumption is a system of human communication.” (Laura Nelson, Measured Excess, p.24) “No individual has a process for rational choice that is divorced from culture or from the dynamic social world that frames and alters values.(Nelson, p.24) In a word, fashion consumption reflects a certain taste that could be distinguished by a certain group category : class, race, ethnicity, and gender. Here we will deal with Korean women’s-especially graduate students- fashion trend at UIUC and its implication: how it’s different from other ethnic groups, and how it’s different from one another intra-ethnically—between Korean-Korean and Korean-American, and between newly comers and longer sojourners--, and geographically —between Korea and the US, and between urban and country--, and how it has been influenced by gender expectation, national policy and global market order.

EUI Links: Lee-Chung, Sangsook 2007 Korean Early Study Abroad Students: How Do They Narrate Their Personhood as an ESA Student at

UIUC? Unpublished manuscript for the Ethnography of the University Initiative.

<https://www.ideals.uiuc.edu/bitstream/2142/3499/2/ResearchProcess.pdf> This project found that Korean students who come to the U.S. at a young age for early study abroad (in middle or high school) tend to adapt quickly to U.S. cultural norms and often express sentiments of rejection toward recently arrived Korean students who act and appear more markedly "Korean." Lee-Chung (2007: 20-21) states, "It seems that ESA students' extent of acculturation to the U.S. society including language acquirement affects their perception, attitude, or judgment of other Korean students." Our project builds on these internal distinctions that Korean students make amongst themselves, by examining how students view fashion as a marker of their own identities in contrast with other Koreans, and how students use fashion to distinguish themselves as marketable in a highly competitive neoliberal job market. Whitley, Anona 2007 Korean American Aesthetics and Style. Unpublished manuscript for the Ethnography of the University Initiative. <https://www.ideals.uiuc.edu/handle/2142/1791> This study concluded "that style is intertwined with values about education, religion, and class and is used to mark one's ethnic identity or to reject it." One of the distinctions that Whitley found Korean students make through clothing is who is here to have fun and who is here to study. Our project seeks to explore this aspect of dress and self-presentation more deeply, and to look at the implications of fashion for Korean students' success on the global job market. Through our theoretical perspective, we may be able to take Whitley's research a step further and address the question of implications for the university, by looking at ways in which dress is linked to educational and professional success at the discursive level.

Interview/Observ.

#2: Jin-ah is a graduate student majoring in one of the department of the Humanities. She is a 1.5 generation Korean American. When I asked her identity, she answered she is more like an American than a Korean. And she defines herself as 1.8 generation, with smiling. Unlike other typical Korean American, she spent her childhood in the US due to her parent's study, and went back to Korea and spent her high school and college days there. She said, while she was in Korea, she was looking forward to going back to the US, but it was not allowed. So she had to study hard to adjust there and graduated one of the premium universities in Korea. (par)

Most of her close friends in her school days in Korea had the similar backgrounds. They had the same experiences of having lived in the US in their earlier days. She feels more comfortable with them than others. (PAR)

When she came back to the US several years ago, she found that she couldn't share her sensitivity, taste, and the way of thinking neither with

other Korean students nor Americans. Again her close friends here are mostly Korean Americans with whom she can share this in-between experience. She lives here by herself without family, but she said she prefers living in the US and has no plan to go back to Korea in the future, although she was hesitant to decide which country to live in the future because she feels freer in saying what she thinks and it's more accepted here. (PAR)

When I asked about her fashion style, she said she has two different style clothes in her closet, that is, Korean and American style. While she stays here in the US, she can't wear Korean style clothing, and in Korea vice versa. Why? The fashion's too different: clothes, make up, shoes, and bags, she said. I asked her "how do you distinguish these two styles?" She answered Korean girls wear more suit-style (classic) clothes, and they prefer name brand wears from top to bottom. And here, among Korean students, there are some differences between undergrads and grads and those who stayed longer and new comers (FOBS). And she explained that even among the same IEI groups, there are difference in their fashion between those who study harder and have firm future plans and those who just enjoy hanging out in groups and speaking in Korean all the time. "Of course, we can't generalize overall. It depends" she added. (PAR)

From her point of view, however, Korean-Korean groups tend to be more conscious of others including their fashion and enjoy judging others (including fashion) more than Korean- American groups. She said. "overall, Korean Americans seem to be more frank than Korean-Koreans." (PAR)

While Korean students tend to like more classical style, American students like more casual style, she distinguished. "They (Americans) came to school wearing mostly jeans, sweating pants and even pajama pants sometimes". "And they prefer layered looks and deeper neck lines". "If Korean students put on those deeper neck line shirts, they're likely to be on the others' lips. And since (Korean's) body shape is different from (Americans), I can't wear those deeper neckline shirts. It could be overexposed". The followings are my next questions and her answers. (PAR)

I: It seems to me that American students enjoy wearing overexposed looks.

She: Yes, it's true.

I: How about low-rise jeans? Who prefer those?

She: There are only low-rise jeans in the shop. No choice. But Korean students are more conservative in fashion. I wear differently when I join company with Koreans and Americans.

I: When you go to Seoul (her parents still live in Seoul), what do you wear?

She: I buy all the new clothes. They're like, what Mommy picked out for me, the up to date stylish fashion at the time, and the new long coat made of more fancy material. But I can wear the same pants in both places. And

the socks, under wears, inner shirts also. (PAR)

When I meet my school friends in Korea, I really have trouble. They look just gorgeous. I can't put on the jacket I wear in the US. So I put on the long coat meeting them. When I first went back to Korea, I had a big trouble. My fashion was not just appropriate. They said, what's this scoldingly. The tastes are different. Of course it's partly from the reason that here is countryside, and it's urban there. But generally Koreans don't stand being not dandy. They're too fashion oriented and very uniform. Everybody has at least one name brand bag such as Louis Vuitton, and Chanel which costs more than one million won (one thousand dollars).

I: Do American students at this campus wear unpretentiously, simply regardless of their class?

She: No! They are different depending they're from big cities or countryside and their classes. The one from Chicago, the one from Mahomet and the one from New York are all different. And I think 'bags' are indicators of their class in both Korean students and American students. (because it's expensive) The class and the fashion brand go together. For one of my classmates from New York, seemingly she looks wearing very plainly, but her humble looking shoes are very famous brand, and her clothes turned out to be like that also. Just the fact that this is college campus seems to make general atmosphere more moderate but in depth it's not. Me? For me, I have all kinds of brands, from dongdaemoon sweatpants (it's a symbol of cheap clothes market in Korea) to the several hundred dollar jeans. My closet is so full of various brand clothes from both Korea and America.

I: How much do you spend on buying clothes a month?

She: Not a little. In the case of buying a bag, I spend about two thousand dollars. Sometimes none. On average, two and three hundred dollars a month?

I: Which brand do you like?

She: My favorite is Abercrombie, I'd like to purchase a Banana Republic, but that brand doesn't fit me in size. And Gap sometimes, not often. But I also wear sweatpants, hood T shirt, and the sleeveless shirts frequently but not suit(dress) style.

I: What do you think of one's fashion?

She: One's fashion shows one's way of thinking. I can recognize which group s/he belongs to through clothing: one's nationality (Japanese, Korean, Chinese), one's taste (s/he likes to go to club or not), or if s/he belongs to IEI or University. And also if s/he is a 1st generation Korean, or 1.5 generation, or 2nd generation Korean American. Here in the US, both female and male students are interested in fashion, but not as much as in Korea, I think.

I: Do you make money? Or do your parents give?

She: I'm a 25% RA. I got tuition waiver, but almost no stipend. Most of my living cost and allowance is from my parents. (she is from upper middle class in Korea)

(PAR) In my conclusion, fashion expresses oneself in many ways: nationality, intra-ethnic diversity, preference, age, class and commodified taste. It's not about just clothing.

Group Summary: Group Research Question Group Members: Kate, Sergio, and Kung Sook (PAR) Crossing Identities : Fashion of Korean women in the United States (PAR) We hypothesize that female Korean students' fashion (manifested through clothing, make-up, and accessories) at UIUC reflects both macro and everyday discourses of individual self-development, which have intensified with the neoliberalization of both Korean and U.S. universities. Our hypothesis draws from literature on the expression of social identities through fashion and consumption (Bourdieu 1984, Nelson 2006); neoliberal education in South Korea and the U.S. as an individualist project of cultivating a sellable self (Ablemann et al. 2008, Brooks 2001, Choi 2005, Ong 2006); and the influence of transnational migrant students on U.S. racialization and neoliberal education (Ong 2006). (PAR) These students' aesthetic self-presentation is part of a larger project of fashioning the self as a sellable product on the job market. Notions of what kind of self is portrayed shift when students transition from Korean to U.S. universities. The argument is not that there were not concepts, ideas, or notion of self presentation back in Korea, but rather, that self presentation acquires a particular meaning under neoliberalism. To those meaning which are generated by real people in particular social and political context is what we are after. (PAR) Fashion is a powerful means or technology of expressing oneself. It is a physical marker, like "habitus," indexing participation in certain kinds of consumption. It is also a type of cultural capital that "needs inculcation, assimilation and personal investment," and serves "as a social function that justifies social difference" (Bourdieu 1984). According to Laura Nelson (2006:24), "consumption is a system of human communication....No individual has a process for rational choice that is divorced from culture or from the dynamic social world that frames and alters values." In other words, fashion consumption reflects tastes that distinguish social group categories, such as class, race, ethnicity, and gender. Here we will deal with Korean women's—especially graduate students'—fashion trends at UIUC and their implications. How do people see these trends as differentiating between Koreans and other ethnic groups, and among one another intra-ethnically—between Korean-Koreans and Korean-Americans, and between newcomers and longer sojourners? How have these distinctions been influenced by gender expectations, national policy, and the global market order? (PAR) Ablemann et al. (2008) demonstrate through an ethnographic study that students in Korea increasingly

view school diplomas as “mak’û,” or brand names (11), and their talents and passions as “ait’em,” or sellable items (18) that they will carry with them as they go onto the job market. Students both in South Korea and in the U.S. have internalized these neoliberal notions of education as the cultivation of sellable selves, accepting individual responsibility for their own success by engaging in intense self-sacrifice to gain a competitive edge (Abelmann et al. 2008, Brooks 2001); or conversely, accepting personal responsibility for failures that are often influenced by social constraints such as gender (Abelmann et al. 2008) and social class (Choi 2005). We suggest that by examining Korean students’ attitudes toward fashion, we can uncover the subtle connections between structural social categories and neoliberal self-cultivation that are so often masked in neoliberal discourses around discussion of “freedom” and “choice.” (PAR) Lastly, our research problem addresses Aihwa Ong’s (2003) argument that the nexus of flexible citizenship (through transnational migration) and academic institutions’ increasing focus on technical training has created a “neoliberal anthropos” that seeks knowledge for the sake of employment opportunities only. We will take this neoliberal anthropos as a given and investigate the racialization processes of international students here at the University of Illinois, by examining how Korean students not only bring ideas about neoliberal education and racialization to the U.S., but also become subject to socialization practices and processes in their host society. We will explore how racial classifications prominent in the U.S. affect Korean students’ socialization vis-à-vis other racial groups, and how that in turn affects their own subject formation and projects of self-cultivation. (PAR) References not on the course syllabus: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Paper: Interview #3

Jaeyoon is a undergraduate transferred student in EALC. She is a senior.

She is from a Korean university. When I asked how she came here, she said that she found the information saying that two years’ stay (study) at this university (UIUC) after her first two years study at her Korean school would guarantee the graduation degree from both of these institutions. She thought this would be a great chance.

Her major is Chinese. And her Chinese is pretty good. Because she stayed China for a year to study and practice Chinese after she finished her first year at the university in Korea. She said, “at that time I was so younger that my Chinese improved very quickly, I don’t have to think (translate) in my brain, it just pops up. But speaking English is quite different. I still can’t participate in discussion freely in the class composed of small students. Am I too old to acquire another language?” jokingly.

Her goal is to be a professional interpreter: Korean-Chinese. For that, she is going back to Korea after graduation and go to the grad school of interpretation. She doesn’t have a plan to study more or work here in the US.

When I asked about her clothing style, her answer was quite simple. “I don’t wear the clothes I brought from Korea. I have to get all the new clothes here.”

Q: “Why?”

A: “First, the design and size are different, as you know. Korean (women) college students’ clothing design is pretty. It’s more extravagant, luxurious, and feminine. They wear more skirts and shoes fitted to that. But here I can’t wear those. It’s too conspicuous, or stands out. And I can’t wash them by washer here.”

Q: “What do you think of American students’ fashion?”

A: “At first, I was surprised. Coming to school in sweatpants? But now, I understand that this style is more comfortable to sit in the desk for a long

time. And they have to walk more in this big campus, and take big bags on their shoulders. In Korea, we have two kinds of clothing, one for school and the other for study. But here they are merged, more comfortable”

Q: “Then, do you think American students study more being well matched with their clothes?”

A: “ No, I don’t think so. I don't think they are not concerned with their clothes. Although they wear jeans frequently, they enjoy getting Seven Jeans.”

Q: “What is it?”

A: “ Stylish and expensive jeans. They cost mostly more than 100 \$. Some more than 200\$. In Korea, this brand costs three times. Anyway, they(American students) also do mind their style.

Q: What do you think American college students fashion is?

A: Jeans, Hood T- shirts, T-shirts, Tops in summer, Deeper neck-lines and longer-length T shirts. Casual jackets. more layered looks.

Q: What’s your style here?

A: Half and half. Korean and American. I like wearing in comfort and cleanness. In Korea, I wear various pants and skirts, but here, I just wear jeans. But whatever try to wear, it’s recognizable to be a Korean.

Q: How?

A: Colors stand out. And their preferred designs. Especially after summer vacation, anybody can notice.

Q: What’s your favorite brand here?

A: Seven Jeans, Diesel, and Guess. I had to buy all the clothes I wear here, but when I go back to Korea, I have to buy new clothes there again. In Korea, I can't wear the same clothes I wear here. Some suits are available, though. Some say that the price of clothing in the US is much cheaper than in Korea but, for me, it's not like that.

Q: Can you describe Korean college students' style (in Korea)?

A: Hmm... Overall, it's more formal. When they become juniors or seniors, they get more suit-style clothes. And match shoes and accessories. Even match the colors of their glasses, sometimes. Recently (since a couple of years ago), I found that there emerged a nail fashion--manicure and hand massage. It needs to be managed in the nail shop. Expensive. Only available for the well off. Some boasted their hand management in the shop. It's a new kind of class distinction.

Q: How much do you spend buying clothes a month?

A: In summer, about 200\$ for T-shirts, in winter about 500\$ for winter jackets. (they are more expensive). In addition to those, I spend some more on pants, skirts and boots.

Q: Can you judge the two styles of Korean and American?

A: Not really. I think the standards are different. Fashion shows which group a person belongs to. When I'm here, I don't wear in Korean style, because I don't want to give an impression that I'm not a member here. I don't want to draw others' attention by my unfamiliar fashion. However, when I feel like attracting others' gaze, or embellishing myself through

being fashionable, or when have a special date, I make myself in Korean style. I think it's cuter. I can't express my hilarious feeling at this special case in American style.

Q: Do you think Koreans consider appearance more?

A: Yes, I do think so. And also think that Koreans tend to evaluate one's social status by one's appearance and attire. There's a strong tendency of thinking that fashion is one's capability. They categorize one's status through the brand of their clothing, bags, and accessories, I think. Thus, even when going to the indoor golf practice range, they dress in golfing clothes. And Koreans seem to spend much on clothes comparing with their income. That's the social atmosphere.

Students spend even more than the older. For example, students change their cel phones every year, although they're very expensive. The older don't waste money on that.

Q: Do you notice any global trend through Korean woman's fashion?

A: Yes, I think Korean fashion is influenced strongly by American and Japanese fashion. It orients the urban, sophisticated, somewhat formal style. I find the model of this style in American drama such as *Friends*, and *Sex and the City*: the single, young, professional career women's fashion. And recently in Internet, when I log on to a Korean internet portal home page, it instantly shows the Hollywood stars' way of life, their fashion, and their photos. Not only World stars but also Korean stars. It's very influential. This entertainment business has a big affection on our

consumption. It feels like they are not a world of far away from here, but that of our daily life. It feels like the world toward which we should orient.

Besides, there's common belief among female college students in Korea that the good appearance helps one's getting a job. When I look at the job recruiting website, it's automatically linked to a certain plastic surgery .

Q: But in my experience, many friends of mine who have professional jobs are very plain-looking. I think that fancy look is not that helpful for getting a job in practice.

A: Well, then it's a false belief. But it's very prevalent among the female students in Korea. They think that the appearance is an important asset. Here when I log on to my friends' Cyworld (personal blog) and look at their photos, I feel a sense of crisis that I am the only one who is behind the fashion, the trend. All of them are dressed up like movie stars. This sense of crisis might arises from my age (early twenties) in a way, I think. Or from the culturally collective characteristics of Korean society? That is, if others do, then I should do that, too. Everybody (students) has at least one name brand bag because others have that. But I've found that this is the same with American students. Many (American students) have "name brand bags" also. And the "Northface" jackets are called their uniforms at UIUC. It's not cheap. It costs about 150- 250 \$. And "Ugg Boots" are their popular fashion, too. Overall, I think that the recent fashion spreads through the Internet while it did more through TV dramas and films a few years ago. And Koreans consider appearance and clothings more importantly

than Americans.

<my findings>

Through my first interview on clothing, I found that not only there is considerable difference between Korean fashion and American style but also there is some intra-ethnic tension among the Korean groups in the US: Korean-Korean and Korean-American. There is an perspective of "othering" in seeing each other. Especially Korean-Americans tend to define Korean-Korean fashion as more snobbery. (They call the new comers FOBs disdainfully, and they-Korean Americans- are considered "whitewashed" themselves. Their ethnic orientation is White in the US. They see FOBs through the perspective of the White.) But from what I've heard, I can see that both fashion styles strongly reflect the global wide commodification and class distinction.

Through my second interview, I've got a conclusion that the present fashion (among the younger generation) is disseminated through Internet mainly. TV has been becoming a little old fashioned. And the trend that has been popular by mass media is sponsored by some big fashion and cosmetic corporations. They make people want to buy their products through the circulation of the images performed by entertainers. These phenomena are the same in Korea and in the US. Actually no nation state citizen can avoid the bombard of globally circulated cultural commodities. (The cultural hegemony is in the US) But there are some difference depending on their specific cultural traditions. Korean female college

students seemed to be more exposed to this uniformly commodified] fashion. They could not resist, they rather willingly accommodate. This is more clear because my interviewees are from [upper] middle class in Korea. The upper middle class youngsters are the most cutting edge consumers in Korea. (My two interviewees are critical of Korean women's clothing consumption, but they are not free from the trend. Although they defined it excessive, but their consuming take the same pattern. And even I have an impression that they enjoy their quality consumption. And they seem to be very proud of their [upper] middle class style consumption.

PAR)

If Koreans pay more attention to their attire [than Americans], as they said, is it because they are more conscious of other's gaze? I think this consciousness partly comes from the traditional Confucian attitude. Confucius emphasized more harmonious relations among a certain group than one's doing conspicuous or individual behaviors . And even in one's attire, there has been an emphasis on the formal and polite manners. Koreans pursuit of more suit style is not unrelated to this Confucian ideology, I think.

As I mentioned above briefly, Koreans are more fragile in being commodified and capitalized in their consumption. It's partly because of their relatively fast-paced modernization and economic growth. This modernization and growth was managed by government and some big

conglomerates called "Jaebeol". (Cho Heeyeon) As Laura Nelson points out properly, Koreans' consumption was promoted by government policy during the past modernization period. Since the mid-1980's, there emerged a wealthy middle class and due to the high-rate economic growth despite the country's political instability, the active consumption was promoted by the government. After the IMF crisis in 1997, Korean government lost the control power over their citizens' consumption. Since then, Korean society has been very fragile in the globally wide neoliberal economy. Koreans have had to be soaked into the "flow of various capital around the world". (Cho Hae-Joang, 2005) This capital flow is not only limited to money, but also encompasses media, and cultural commodities. Through clothing, we can trace the circulation of neoliberal fashion culture.

Kate's discovery through her second interview also reinforces this assumption. To be a white single professional career woman or to be a cool black hip hop fashioned pop star, that is the only difference. The anti-social, rebellious, non-established, cool hip hop star is also a typical commodified image made by advertisement of corporations. Through these two images , we can reconfirm the American cultural hegemony in producing the ideal consumptions.

Class, ethnic diversity, intra ethnic conflict seen through clothing and the similarity of culture consuming in this globally wide neoliberal order was my findings so far by two interviews .

Reflect: final paper: April 15. revised by Apr. 28. (PAR) Fashion is a powerful means of expressing oneself. As an identity marker, fashion shows everything: race, ethnicity, class, taste, education level, and the social success. It is also a physical marker indexing one's participation in certain kinds of consumption. In other word, it's a cultural capital to represent oneself in a society. (PAR) By interviewing Korean female students at UIUC, I (we) examined the meaning of Korean woman's fashion in global neoliberalism. What are the differences and similarities of woman's fashion in Korea and the US and how do Korean students take this difference? And how can we see fashion as a cultural capital in globalized market order? This is my subject in this paper. (PAR) Korean female students came here UIUC for promoting their self-development. Unlike the past years(a decade ago), the experience of studying abroad (especially in the US or other English-speaking countries)has become an educational fashion in Korea. Because "American school diplomas are considered brand names that they will carry with them as they go into the job market."(Abelman et al., forthcoming) For acquiring this educational capital, they came here and spent the considerable amount of money. During their stay in the US, they find that fashion in the American campus is quite different from that of Korea. (PAR) Seemingly, the general difference are like these. Korean fashion is more formal and American is more casual. That is, Koreans prefer dress-up, while American favor jeans and shirts. Koreans are more conservative in terms of exposure, Americans enjoy more exposing looks. Koreans seem to be more concerned with their appearance than Americans. They seem to spend more money on clothing compared with Americans. And they seem to be more conscious of other's gaze than Americans. In this way, they look more fashionable than Americans. (PAR) Then, how Korean female students view and adapt to this difference? Through my interviews formal and informal, I found that they take two different style strategy. That is, in the US, they try to be Americanlike being casual and in Korea, Korean-like being formal. For this, they have to buy most of their clothing in each place, so they pay double the price. (PAR) In addition to this, there are some distinctions among Korean intra-ethnic subgroups at UIUC in seeing Korean fashion: between Korean-Koreans and Korean-Americans, and between new comers and longer sojourners, between grads and undergrads, between students at IEI and those at university, between students from upper middle class and lower middle class, between students from upper middle class and lower middle class, between students who like club activity more and students who study harder and so on. (And of course there is a distinction among different Asian ethnic groups such as Korean, Chinese, and Japan,

but in my paper, I won't cover this point) (PAR) For example, among intra-ethnic groups, there is a tension between Korean-Koreans and Korean-Americans toward the Korean fashion. Korean-Americans tend to be more critical of Korean fashion. Traditionally they tend to be Americanized while adapting themselves in the US. They see things through [White] American point of view. This attitude applies to seeing other Korean-Koreans. They call new comers FOBs disdainfully and "express a kind of rejection toward them who act and appear more markedly Korean" (Sangsook Lee-Chung, 2007). In a sense, they internalize racism prevalent in the US. They criticize Korean fashion in terms of its extravagant style and excessive consumption compared to that of American's. One of my interviewees who is a Korean-American was also very critical of newcomer's conspicuous style that stands out even in the distance. She said that this Korean fashion trend is a sign of Korean collectivism and snobbery. However, from what she said, I found that she also enjoys consuming fashion a lot to adjust to the cultural norms of both countries: being casual at the UIUC campus, being more formal when she visits in Korea. (PAR) And one relatively new coming Korean student talked about the difficulty of being a sellable self, being an ideal cosmopolitan. She said, in Korea, students are more obsessed with their appearance to be chosen in job market that has been getting more and more competitive. According to her, they think by being more sophisticated, they become more favorable to be selected as a prospective worker. For them, fashion is another cultural capital to develop to sell. (PAR) Another interesting thing I found is 'class distinction'. Not only Korean students but also among the American students, there are some class favored brand names. As my pointed out, class distinction is hidden behind the American's plain, casual look. Inside their plain, casual looks, there's a recognizable distinction marking one's class as well as ethnicity. (PAR) Different from superficial presumption, American students are also very concerned with their looks, are conscious of other's gaze, and spend a lot of money on their 'casual' looks and fashion. Some popular jeans among American students cost more than two hundred dollars. (PAR) As a class marker, both Korean students and American students prefer certain brand named clothing to distinguish themselves from others. However, as these brands are getting more globalized, people take more uniform shape around the world. (PAR) That means fashion consumption is standardized globally. By mass media, through advertisements, TV dramas, films and Internets, the brand name commodities circulate and sell globally. They sell their goods using the images of success, self-development and strategies of familiarity or rarity. Especially in this American

hegemonic global culture, American-centered transnational, cultural commodities such as TV dramas, Hollywood films, and global advertisements influence the young people tremendously. From the urban to the rest area, from the young to the other generations, the cultural fashion spread. They present people with fantasy on their life, career, and fashion. Not only Americans, but also Korean women have been influenced a lot by American TV dramas such as "Friends" or "The Sex and the City". The main characters' "looks" make a certain fashion trend through the images of free, successful, professional career women. By a certain chemical action, consumers think 'they' choose it themselves, and make their own style. (PAR) In conclusion, on one hand, fashions are different depending on countries, tradition, race, ethnicity and class. One constructs social identity through fashion. On the other hand, it's getting harder to distinguish the absolute uniqueness according to one's specific category because it's connected closely to the circulation of the same transnational cultural commodities under the global, neoliberal economic order. (PAR) For Korean students, fashion becomes "the nexus of flexible citizenship". (Aihwa Ong, 2003). For them, fashion goes together with the burden of self-development, being a better sellable self, being a cosmopolitan. By adjusting their fashion to the locale, Korean students "accept the racialized and commodified American concept and become a subject to socialization practice", in a way. Fashion also reflects the attitude toward one's success and self-development. For example, clothing and academic direction are correlated. IEI students are more fashionable than university students. Undergrads are more concerned with their fashionable style than grad students. Koreans consuming fashion was also related to the natural policy during their fast-paced modernization and economic growth. According to the emergence of wealthy middle class in the 1980s, consumption was promoted by government. But since the IMF crisis in the late 1990s, Koreans consumption became placed outside the government control, placed fragily in the merciless, neoliberal economy. The globalized culture can easily attack Korean's sensitivity. (PAR) By examining Korean students' attitudes toward fashion, we could "uncover the subtle connections between structural social categories and neoliberal self-cultivation that are so often masked in freedom and choice." The students' aesthetic self-presentation is a part of a larger project that reflects transnational neoliberal market order of the globe.

Recommendations: Reflect: (PAR) This kind of methodology, connecting individuals consuming activity to the broader context of global economy under the neoliberal order is very intriguing. Within this, personal choice

is not personal, personal taste is not unique. Through this approach, I can make sure again that nobody is free from the circulation of commodified cultural goods. (PAR) Before I started this class, I had thought this subject of neoliberalism is very familiar, but as the activities of interviews went on and started to construct my(our) own project along with the text reading, it turned out quite different from what I had anticipated. As a member of a group of three, I feel very complemented by other two grad students with placing my own narrow point of view within the broader perspective and references. and I think we helped each other conducting and widening this project with one's own scheme. (PAR) Recommendations: We could see the changing circumstances in East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea. And the process of constructing political, cultural, and economic subjectivities in these three countries as their regimes changed throughout modern history during the class this semester. If anybody who is interested in the constructing individual choices and cultural consumptions within the context of rapidly changing East Asian society - in my case, Korea-, reading the concerning articles and books we read in class and the concrete project we conducted would be intriguing as an evidence.

**Prelim. Research
Prop.:**

Research Proposal (PAR) Reproduction of gender in Korean immigrant Church in the US: a perspective of female Korean-migrant in Urbana-Champaign, IL (PAR) Immigrant churches play important roles in helping new immigrants and students to adapt to US society and in re-creating and reproducing traditional ethnic culture. They provide important social spaces in which both the changes required by the new social milieu and the continuities desired by immigrant members can be achieved. In this proposal, I would like to concentrate on a research plan on the reproduction process of traditional gender role in the Korean immigrant churches in the US. To examine how it is practiced and reinforced by a certain rituals, how women participate in this process as an active/passive agent and if there is any possibility to change this woman's agency of reproducing traditional gender role is my goal. To this end, I will investigate the way of church meetings and events being held and the participants' and church leaders' point of view concerning this practice. My interest in this subject started my personal experience and frustrated feeling on this matter. (PAR) In Korea, American secondary school diploma has become a valuable capital across the society. Not only academia but also the corporates try to recruit people who studied or had research experience in the US. According to this demand, more and more students come to the US to acquire this social/educational capital. Two decades ago, this symbol of studying abroad was rare in

Korea, however, today, this boom of studying in the US has spread throughout the entire upper and middle class members. (PAR) As Korean students and researchers abroad increase more, the Korean churches in the US have had a constant stream of visitors and congregations from Korea. Students and researchers abroad as well as immigrants suffer from loneliness, language problem, the unfamiliar administrative works to take care of and other culture shock and they have difficulty in keeping up with American school curriculum different from that of Korea especially in the beginning. From the very first time, a considerable number of them get help from the Korean immigrant churches in settling down and adapting to a new milieu and attend the church for socializing with other Koreans or building their faith as a new/old Christian. (PAR) Aside from the worship service, they get to attend the small group meetings such as regular cell meetings, assorted prayer meetings and other social gatherings. One of the noticeable things that the immigrant churches provide and emphasize is to give their congregations Korean ethnic foods. Thus, preparing and serving Korean foods is a big and important regular church event. Then, who takes charge of this task? Of course women, especially married women take this task since this feeding and nurturing work is considered traditionally women's job. My questioning has started at this point. Since the church congregation requires women members to do this anachronistic task in every occasion, I have been wondering what is the mechanism of keeping this patriarchal system in the immigrant ethnic church. (PAR) Aside from preparing traditional foods for social events both at church and at home, women participate in reproducing gender role in other ways, too: as central actors in domestic religious practices and as teachers of children in congregation-supported, ethno-religious classes(e.g., Sunday school) and leaders of youth groups. And they belong to, at least, one gender-segregated women's organization that serves in part as a mutual support group to address women's needs and grievances and to give gender-biased counseling. (PAR) All of these apparatuses contribute to reproducing traditional culture and gender combined with the biblical evangelicalism that emphasize on individual sacrifice and self-denunciation. (PAR) The previous rich Korean-American cultural studies centered to reveal that religion as the most important cultural mechanism for ethnic preservation and the structures and social functions of Korean Immigrant churches in the United States. Pyong Gap Min shows how most Korean immigrants are affiliated with and actively participated in Korean Protestant churches maintaining Korean cultural tradition, and how immigrant churches provide social services for church members and the Korean community as a whole and provide social status and social positions for adult

immigrants. However, studies on the specific impact of religious participation and practice on the status of [immigrant] women are relatively small. There are some concerning constructing ethnic and racial identities of Korean-American second-generation women, but not much. Further, studies on the gender conflict among first-generation Koreans in the immigrant church are a few compared to those of gender and intergenerational conflict in transmission of ethnic culture between the first generation and the second generation Korean-Americans. (PAR) As I mentioned above, my goal is that to examine how Confucian gender is reproduced and reinforced through the practice of “old country” cultural traditions in the Korean immigrant churches as an island in the 21st century US with their influence of American evangelicalism and how this reinforced gender stereotype is related to the religious fundamentalism in general and connected to social conservatism. And with the massive influx of short-term migrants such as students, researchers and Kirogi families, how conflicts occur between Korean-American immigrants and Korean-Korean migrants concerning gender according to their status and class in the church will be another interesting problem to investigate. (PAR) Above all, finding a way to proceed to the healthier community of faith and society as a whole for both women and men will be my ultimate goal through this work. (PAR)

Methodology (PAR) -Observations of the way of practicing church events including communal eating and organizational gathering, and the decision-making procedure at church -Participation of social events and small group meeting held at church and at home -In-person interviews: I intend to search for the specific experience of gender-based practice at church and at home, and the opinion of the usual participants and its implication. -Article analysis: analysis of the previous works concerning this subject will be the starting point of this research (PAR) Bibliography (PAR) 1. Grace Choi-Kim, “Continuing gender issues for second-generation Korean-american women in the home and in the church”, Garret-Evangelical Seminary, religiouseducation.net 2. Pyong Gap Min and Dae Young Kim, “Intergenerational Transmission of Religion and Culture: Korean Protestants in the US”, *Sociology of Religion* 2005, 66:3 3. Pyong Gap Min, “The Structure and Social Functions of Korean Immigrant Churches in the United States”, *International Migration Review* 1992, 26:4 4. George Yancey and Ye Jung Kim, “Radical Diversity, Gender Equality, and SES Diversity in Christian Congregations: Exploring the Connections of Racism, Sexism, and Classism in Multiracial and Nonmultiracial Churches”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 2008, 47:1 5. Kelly H. Chong, “What it means to be Christian: The Role of Religion in the Construction of ethnic identity and Boundary among Second-

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